

DanOFlaherty

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SPEAKERS

Robert Curvin, Tim, Dan O'Flaherty

- R

Robert Curvin 00:06
Okay, I have with me, Daniel Flaherty, who's a longtime Newark resident, observer, scholar, knowledgeable doer, political activist, and all of that. And we're going to talk about Newark and talk about Dan's story. So, Dan, why don't you start by saying a little bit about growing up in Newark, and what it was like,
- D

Dan O'Flaherty 00:34
I my first memories are of Roseville Avenue School in the 1954 election and passing out palm cards for Jimmy Callahan, which were green palm cards, and they smelled really, really good.
- R

Robert Curvin 00:57
What this was the year of the charter change the first election under the new government?
- D

Dan O'Flaherty 01:02
I think so. I was I was three at the time.
- R

Robert Curvin 01:05
You were three. Oh, my goodness.
- D

Dan O'Flaherty 01:07
This was the first election and the charter changed the- This was the first election. And my mother had been very active in the charter change. And Jimmy Callahan was the CIO candidate

mother had been very active in the charter change. And Jimmy Conahan was the CIO candidate for Councilman at large. I knew none of that. I knew that his palm cards smelled good.

R

Robert Curvin 01:32

And you stayed in Newark through Grammar School?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 01:35

Through grammar school, I went to Roseville Avenue for a couple of years. Then we moved to Ivy Hill, and I went to Mount Vernon I graduated from Mount Vernon. And I graduated from Vailsburg.

R

Robert Curvin 01:48

And after Vailsburg>

D

Dan O'Flaherty 01:49

After Vailsburg, I had to go to Harvard. And after that, I went to Harvard.

R

Robert Curvin 01:54

And Harvard again and did your PhD in economics. And when did you hook up with the Gibson movement?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 02:05

I was, high school, I was a college freshman. At the time of the convention, I came down, I observed the convention because it was fun, then-

R

Robert Curvin 02:20

You did attend the convention.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 02:21

I did attend the convention. I think I met Dennis then. Then I went back to school, then it was May of I couldn't vote. Twenty- first time I voted was 71, I think, with the change in the voting age. The voting age then was 21. In May of 1970, you Bob probably remember as as the election, but if you were in Cambridge, you remember it as the war. So classes ended abruptly in a burst of tear gas.

R Robert Curvin 03:15
over the Vietnam War,

D Dan O'Flaherty 03:16
the Vietnam War. I came down was after after, at some point. It was after the first election. And I got involved in in Vailsburg things with Joe (unintelligable) and John Caufield.

R Robert Curvin 03:34
And when did you join the staff? With Harry you worked with Harry Gordon?

D Dan O'Flaherty 03:40
Harry I started with Harry in the summer of 71. So I missed the really, the teacher strike was over by then.

R Robert Curvin 03:51
It was over by then.

D Dan O'Flaherty 03:54
So I worked summers until I graduated and I worked full time for two years. Then I went back to graduate school, but commuted and basically worked full, nah- sort of full time along with graduate school till about 80, 81, then I did a bunch of consulting and teaching at NJIT, I came back, was an aide to the mayor in 85, 86 and an aide to John Caulfield. And in 86, everything fell apart.

R Robert Curvin 04:40
Yeah, well, it fell apart, in what sense?

D Dan O'Flaherty 04:43
Ken lost and John died in 86, in 86. And at the same time, the Columbia economics department was falling apart. They lost Guillermo Calvo to Berkeley and they lost Maury Obstfeld to Toronto to to Stanford. And so, because Obstfeld had left, if they didn't hire somebody whose last name started with, O, they would have to rearrange the mailboxes. So they needed me.

R Robert Curvin 05:17

So that's how you got hired. Yes, sure. Let's talk a little bit about the Gibson years. And you were around for a good part of it.

D Dan O'Flaherty 05:30

I was around. Yeah, I, I moved back and I started with more of the Harry perspective, and then I guess, got more of the Dennis perspective. And, of course, after Harry died, and I probably got more of a Ken perspective and more of a (?) perspective, right. What was the Harry perspective, like, Harry perspective was war with the rest of the city. War. It was at changing things around and working around the rest of the city.

R Robert Curvin 06:07

Having his own way?

D Dan O'Flaherty 06:09

Having it his own way and having it a new way and not paying attention to the Connie, and avoiding Connie Boudines of the world.

R Robert Curvin 06:18

The Business Administrator. So he wanted to kind of be a free Wheeler, a free wheel or Harry Wheeler?

D Dan O'Flaherty 06:25

Yeah and and especially to replaced rather than rather than be absorbed by the existing city hall bureaucracy, he wanted to work around the existing city hall bureaucracy.

R Robert Curvin 06:38

Basically have his own fiefdom. In some sense, he did. He was successful at that.

D Dan O'Flaherty 06:47

He was successful at that. And they were in a very successful operation.





Robert Curvin 06:50

Yeah. And it's successful in the sense that he got people jobs.



Dan O'Flaherty 06:54

Got people jobs, changed things around, we ran a good CITA program. At one point, it was huge. I remember, in in the summer of 76, we were spending like a million dollars a week. We had half, half the city employees were CITA employees. And summer programs, were running five, five to 10,000 or 5000 kid 4000 5000 kids



Robert Curvin 07:29

For the summer program.



Dan O'Flaherty 07:32

And we're doing it reasonably well. Reasonably good results.



Robert Curvin 07:37

When you look through the records, you see occasional tensions with the feds about, spending, manage- program management.



Dan O'Flaherty 07:48

But one reason I sort of moved on was but by 1981, I looked through the federal regs and discovered that about half of them were designed, were written directly at me.



Robert Curvin 07:58

At you?



Dan O'Flaherty 07:59

Yeah. Because whatever they had a reg I could figure out a way to get around it. So they had to add regs. But we were doing-



Robert Curvin 08:06

But that's what you were doing for Harry helping him to figure out how to, uh-

D Dan O'Flaherty 08:09

But, um, we were doing, we were doing sophisticated incentive contracts in 1979. Sophisticated incentive contracts become the wave of the future as DOL presents it in 1990. And I think we were running a much more sophisticated operation than they were

R Robert Curvin 08:37

I see as computerized or no?

D Dan O'Flaherty 08:41

No not computerized.

R Robert Curvin 08:42

No, mathematically sophisticated, you knew you knew what you were getting for the money that was being spent.

D Dan O'Flaherty 08:49

And we were we were experimenting with, with these contracts in all kinds of different ways they, they-

R Robert Curvin 08:59

So in your, your sense, the Federal supplements for job development were critical to the stability of the city at that time?

D Dan O'Flaherty 09:12

Yeah. The the size and as far as delivering city services, in the mid 70s, CITA was necessary. The other thing that CITA in the mid 70s was a lot of of the web of nonprofits that has continued in Newark, since the 70s was created by Harry.

R Robert Curvin 09:40

Some of the CD development groups or-? Yeah?

D Dan O'Flaherty 09:44

... ..

Unified Vailsburg, uh, Ironbound Community Corporation, IYO, um, City without Walls,

R

Robert Curvin 09:58

They were all funded initially through CITA?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 10:02

And they were probably a very high proportion of of NJ, New Jersey's role in the Gus Heningburg thing. NJCTTC? I used to know how to pronounce that.

R

Robert Curvin 10:16

The the contractor who put in our sub pump at our house in Newark a couple years ago, I asked him how he got started in a construction business. And he said through CITA in Newark, which is really interesting.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 10:29

So I mean, North North Ward, very large portion of of Steve's funding came from Harry, not that much of New Community because New Community was more of a physical construction operation. New Jersey History (Historical) Society. I think we got New Jersey History (Historical) Society through through the last recession. So it wasn't wasn't just city operations. I mean, a lot, a lot. A lot of the sanitation department was was CITA. We had all most of the first substantial class of black firefighters, were CITA.

R

Robert Curvin 11:13

Really?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 11:15

Yeah.

R

Robert Curvin 11:20

Now, your, your-

D

Dan O'Flaherty 11:21

Your neighbor Michael Cook, was in that group.

R

Robert Curvin 11:24

Really? Well, what was the fate of these workers as the years went, went by were many of them integrated into permanent employment or?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 11:35

Not as much as you would hope. Most of them. It was it was brutal. In the late 70s, early 80s, as CITA was phased out, it was it was brutal. There were a number of suicides.

R

Robert Curvin 11:53

Somebody described to me a situation during this time with the rather generous federal funding that was coming in, and the old line (?) bureaucracy and city employees that there were almost it was almost like having two governments that publicly federally supported side and a and a old line (?) city operational budget supported side. And oftentimes, there were racial as well as ethnic tensions between the two sides, is that accurate?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 12:28

That's accurate. Especially in that that'll be very much, very much of a picture of 72, 7- the beginning. Over time, there was more integration, in the sense that both both ways. I'm not sure. One picture of it that you could do it as a picture of the insurgent group got got old and fat, and discovered security. And they were they, the city absorbed them, the bad parts of the city bureaucracy absorbed them. Or you can say that you just c- that the money ran out. One of these things.

R

Robert Curvin 13:33

And by 86 the money clearly had-

D

Dan O'Flaherty 13:36

By 86, the money's gone.

R

Robert Curvin 13:37

Clearly. Okay. Yeah, I understand. This is good. Right. Let's, let's talk about the Dennis Sullivan period of of the administration. I guess you that's who you refer to when you said you later got the Dennis view?



- - - - -

D Dan O'Flaherty 13:58

Yeah, well, I guess the Dennis I think that's the Dennis view. I mean, part of it, I guess is tied to what I think Ken want- Ken after 74 was sort of wanting to integrate his people. One just doesn't make sense to run this renegade operation forever. A second for job stability of his of his people that he's concerned about. Third, that he had liked to see the city bureaucracy work better. So as as Ken describes it, which I think is pretty much Dennis's picture. In his second term, he took his aides who were complaining about the city and made them department directors. So, Doug, Doug Morgan became health and welfare director. Dennis became Finance Director and that was sort of the beginning of the integration. So Dennis as finance director takes on more of the coloration of, of an Anton Jungherr or a Fleming Jones and starts dealing more with the integration. I think (unintelligible) Budget Office has always been crazy. Budget Office was actually created under Ken.

R Robert Curvin 15:35

It was actually created.

D Dan O'Flaherty 15:37

There wasn't there wasn't much of a budget office before Ken. You had you had two things happen with Ken, one which died out pretty quickly was that the the vast African American support for Ken wanted another city government and set up wanted this, this alternative city government. The business community wanted the old city government to run properly. So that was that was Connie Bodine, who Prudential picked. and Anton Jungherr. Well I assume. And Anton Jungherr came in with Clipper Niff (?) and Lou Neilly (?) was in there somewhere. So that one of the first things that the business part of the coalition did was to set up a budget office and that sort of thing which Zinn/Zane? and Howard Gary took it over and it went crazy. And then Dennis sort of ran-

R Robert Curvin 16:47

Now Howard Howard Gary was Ken's selection right?

D Dan O'Flaherty 16:52

I'm not sure.

R Robert Curvin 16:53

You're not sure. His big fight was with the council right?

D Dan O'Flaherty 16:58

Howard was crazy.

R Robert Curvin 16:59
Yeah, it's just

D Dan O'Flaherty 17:00
Howard, Howard came when when when Connie came in Connie hired two people. Connie hired Howard and Ken Joseph and they're both Black guys but I don't know if they're Ken's Black guys. Both of them again in in good City Fashion went out, started in the center and went out and established themselves. Ken went to tax collector and Howard went to budget.

R Robert Curvin 17:34
Are you saying that they were not loyal though to Ken?

D Dan O'Flaherty 17:45
Howard was c-, and Ken I don't know whether they were Connie's people or or Ken's people. They didn't, they disappeared before I could figure out who they were.

R Robert Curvin 18:02
Yeah well aren't we also talk a little bit about Ken's management approach that there was kind of a laissez faire

D Dan O'Flaherty 18:12
He let people battle.

R Robert Curvin 18:13
He let people battle and have their own way.

D Dan O'Flaherty 18:18
Yeah, mostly occasionally he would he wa- he he would he would let people battle on a lot of things there were things that he would that were absolutes with him and but he was not- With anybody you come in with a coalition and they they they battle it out afterwards. I didn't see that much difference between the beginning beginning of the Booker administration except

that there wasn't the city money there. It was it was a battle between the old guys and the new guys. The old guys and the new guys were closer in color then in 1970 or maybe even reversed in color in 1970. No it wasn't reversed it was closer.

R Robert Curvin 19:27
What about inside outside?

D Dan O'Flaherty 19:29
Inside the old guys and he new guys are-

R Robert Curvin 19:31
Okay. It's a very interesting point though about the city.

D Dan O'Flaherty 19:41
And similarly, it was a b- the the the Beauchamp, Pablo Fonseca battle, right is almost Connie Bodine versus versus Harry.

R Robert Curvin 20:07
Yeah, attempt to really establish control and position visa vie the power of the administration.

D Dan O'Flaherty 20:18
And, you know, I told Bo, that I didn't know he's gonna become business administrator like, Okay, here's the business administrator. Here's the mayor's office.

R Robert Curvin 20:28
Get them together.

T Tim 20:29
No, they go to war, no matter what.

R Robert Curvin 20:30
They go to war Oh really? Why is that? Why is that so?

they go to wait on, really. Why is that? Why is that so.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 20:38

Because, because if you look at the Faulkner Act, there is no role for the mayor's office.

R

Robert Curvin 20:46

There's no role for the Mayor's Office

D

Dan O'Flaherty 20:49

Council either. Everything is the business administrator. . Basically, Faulk- if you, and there's there's very little scope there. The business administrator is supposed to run this operation, which is totally governed by civil service rules and-

R

Robert Curvin 21:09

Yeah but the mayor can hire and fire the Business Administrator.



21:14

The Mayor can hire and fire the business administrator, but that doesn't take a staff to do it takes the mayor to sign a little piece of paper. Faulkner Act, the mayor gives a state of the city speech, there's a few things like that. But the until and the mayoral aides comes in, in Faulkner act in like 1970 amendments and it gets expanded to 10. In the 1986, Lynch amendments,

R

Robert Curvin 21:49

The number of aides is actually written into the act? I didn't realize that.

D


Dan O'Flaherty 21:55


As as (an example?) the number of department heads is listed. The the number of department heads and the number of aides, any any position that is exempt from civil service is written in the Faulkner Act.


R


Robert Curvin 22:10


So even the council aides-


 Dan O'Flaherty 22:13
Are Faulkner


 Robert Curvin 22:14
are Faulkner act,


 Dan O'Flaherty 22:16
and are in violation of Faulkner

 Robert Curvin 22:21
Why because they've exceeded the, uh?

 22:24
No, because the council aides again, were were like one part time in the old days, right, which was the Faulkner act in 70. The, at various times, the legislature, not exactly acting without lobbying, increased the numbers. And the last big increase was the 1986, which which did the coun- the mayor aides and the council aides to the current three or four or something.

 Robert Curvin 23:07
So this was after Earl Harris's ploy to make the council job a full time job, which was approved by the council did that actually get written into the the act?

 Dan O'Flaherty 23:22
I'm not sure whether that's Faulkner. The council is the council is in the job of councilman is. So it's by definition exempt from civil service. Council aides, though, I'm not sure whether the full time or part time scope is in the act. I don't think so. But the number of aides is, so I don't- I was around when when the increase happened, but I really don't know the politics of it. Itt was it was it was John Lynch's bill. So it's all sorts of things going on.

 Robert Curvin 23:57
Let's go back to Ken, because there's been and we talked about this before. There's one theory that Ken was, didn't do anything, ineffective, gave up all of his interests in promoting the Black Agenda and hired even some of the old enemies from the Addonizio administration. On the

other hand, there are people who give him a lot of credit for having a steady hand, being a good, calm leader during a period of great crisis and tension in the city. Where do you where do you come out?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 24:39

I would say mainly on the calm side, especially at the beginning. And I would emphasize that he put the city on sound financial footing which his his greatest accomplishment was to in- in credit which was to cut the size of city government incredibly, and to cut the tax rate incredibly.

R

Robert Curvin 25:06

And was this because he was he was able to hire so many people through federal grants?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 25:12

At the beginning it was but by 86, it was because of increased state aid and because of a much much he gradually through federal and everything like that made it a gradual process, but the size of the city government in in 1986 was much, much smaller than it was. There was a great deal more state aid to education but city government I haven't done this recently but you, you got rid of a number of departments. You shrunk the police department you shrunk the fire department you shrunk the sanitation department incredibly the water department, things like that. Finance Department was was was much smaller. Virtually everything except the counsel was smaller.

R

Robert Curvin 26:17

And then it all grew bigger under Sharpe.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 26:21

It floated bigger it didn't grew a lot. It grew pretty quickly under Monteilh and then got a little bit smaller under Glenn Grant and then (unintelligable) no actually under Monteilh, Monteilh, one was was up Monteilh, two was down because they were, were saving money for the arena.

R

Robert Curvin 26:47

Right the arena became the central mission of the city.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 26:53

There's one Star Ledger article in I think January 2006, which is some important negotiation

with the firefighters union or if it's something that has to be done with the fire department and the Ledger article says and mister, and business administrator, even interrupted his negotiations with the basketball team to deal with the fire department.

R

Robert Curvin 27:26

Fascinating fascinating. So overall though, you would give Ken an A plus or B minus or?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 27:37

I would give him an A plus on financial, on management probably a B or something like that. The problem is that I don't think when you talk to him he doesn't talk about the financial accomplishment, that's like zero. And so I th- he clearly put effort into it but I think he did it on an incremental basis so that he, it wasn't on the fourth it wasn't that he came in in 1970 and said I'm going to cut taxes and I'm going to, it was act- he had enough sense to realize every step of the way that this is the only step you can take

R

Robert Curvin 28:33

Yeah. You think he had a plan to to physically improve the city, was he interested in development at all?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 28:43

Yeah, and there was there's more development happened under Ken than under Sharpe.

R

Robert Curvin 28:49

You really believe that?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 28:52

No, no, there's no question about it. Gateway One, Gateway One.

R

Robert Curvin 29:09

Gateway One, Gateway Two, Gateway One actually started before Ken.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 29:13

Gateway one started before Ken. Gateway two there's there's a little bit there. Gateway Three, Gateway Four, PSE&G, One one Washington Park, the, the, the, the Gibraltar, the Kresge redo

all those.

R

Robert Curvin 29:36

The Kresge redo became the 2 Cedar St?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 29:39

2 Cedar Street and all those things. The there was actually something done with with the Ballantine property RAR (?), a fairly significant operation down there.

R

Robert Curvin 29:54

Still going on there.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 29:57

At the end way to look at it tax abatements at that time listed lasted 15 years. At the end of Ken there are a lot of commercial tax abatements. By the end of Sharpe there are only like six commercial tax abatements and they're tiny. Under Sharpe what's what's the only what's it called the Port Authority building next to

R

Robert Curvin 30:28

the Legal Center?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 30:29

Legal Center right that started under Ken completed under Sharpe. Seton Hall Law School that bunch of things

R

Robert Curvin 30:38

started under Ken

D

Dan O'Flaherty 30:39

a little bit under Ken that's mainly Sharpe. And (unintelligable) the Blue Cross Blue Shield, which was 85 million tax abatements is Sharpe's. That's it.

R

Robert Curvin 30:52

When you say 85 million tax abatement, what do you mean? It's abated for how many years?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 30:57

It's it had a 15 year abatement, a five year abatement, and they also gave an extended 15 year abatement on 33 Washington Street.

R

Robert Curvin 31:09

When they when they did the Penn Station building. They abated the one Washington Street building. Even after it was purchased by- repurchased.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 31:22

I don't know whether that survived or not.

R

Robert Curvin 31:26

I would assume that it-

D

Dan O'Flaherty 31:27

It probably did. But and that there was more downtown construction there was there was more construction of about the number of the number of units per year under Ken is about the same as Sharpe.

R

Robert Curvin 31:43

Housing units?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 31:44

They're they're subsidized there as opposed to little guys but Reservoir Townhouse-, Tom Masero did a bunch of stuff. The, a lot of senior citizen stuff was built all the all the downtown senior stuff, which may not be the greatest idea in the world. It's it's something there.

R

Robert Curvin 32:10

Well, Sharpe would point to Springfield Avenue, which is not the whole Springfield Avenue, but the portion of the portions that got developed the drugstores, the franchises

D Dan O'Flaherty 32:24
Drugstore, uh

R Robert Curvin 32:25
A light rail

D Dan O'Flaherty 32:27
Light rail is a joke.

R Robert Curvin 32:29
It's a joke. Why is it a joke?

D Dan O'Flaherty 32:31
One, by the time they built it, it was very clear from any economic studies that light rail was a very bad idea on cost benefit analysis. The actual light rail that's there, when it came up, I've taken it on an experimental basis. It's faster to walk. Uh, it doesn't run that frequently. So and then when it runs, it runs slowly. So you know, your your average arrival from, it's gonna make sense, it's gonna make sense to go to Penn Station. So you arrive, basically there, you take it at a random time, your expected arrival at Penn Station is about 20 minutes. It's a 20 minute walk. For the same kind of money, which was huge. You could really do good bus service.

R Robert Curvin 33:38
Bus Service, yeah.

D Dan O'Flaherty 33:39
Right now, right now Broad Street has wonderful bus service. And for a few people, a lot of people who don't count realize that. But Broad St has great bus service. Minor changes in that bus service could change things around quite considerably to get connected to places.

R Robert Curvin 34:05
But with the link to north, the link to North Broad Street may be more important. If the arena development actually begins to take, take hold.

- D** Dan O'Flaherty 34:16
No it isn't. It goes to Penn Station you if you go to the North North Broad Street the way to get the way to get to the arena or any place around the arena, is to take a bus. Not to go down and Penn Station and come back up, that's ridiculous. I know public transportation.
- R** Robert Curvin 34:36
Okay. Let's talk a little bit about the whole abatement process.
- D** Dan O'Flaherty 34:43
History history at this point, I think
- R** Robert Curvin 34:45
It's history? You don't think it's going to happen any more or?
- D** Dan O'Flaherty 34:49
The the abatements that I dealt with- no, it's getting worse.
- R** Robert Curvin 34:53
It's getting worse.
- D** Dan O'Flaherty 34:54
Okay. And one one reason why it was history when I wrote that thing, which I didn't realize was that because there was no commercial development. There were no commercial abatements. And since there hasn't been a major commercial development since 1991, there's very little in the way of commercial abatements at this point. The stuff that you're talking about now is the next generation.
- R** Robert Curvin 35:20
What about the IDT building?
- D** Dan O'Flaherty 35:23
That's okay. I think that's-

That's okay, I think that's

R

Robert Curvin 35:25

You know, they, they're, they're going bankrupt. But that was a commercial development.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 35:32

That was a commercial. But the the only part, it's not completely abated, it's just partially I think the new stuff or something like that. It's not it's not a big number (unintelligible) 744 renovation-

R

Robert Curvin 35:49

Oh the, uh 1180.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 35:53

1180 is not a commercial abatement, it's a residential of some sort. But where things are going now seems to be in the direction of super abatements, TIFs and residential redevelopment area bonds which are worse.

R

Robert Curvin 36:17

How do they work?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 36:18

The more complicated (unintelligible) the better case nobody can understand it. I haven't, TIF I do this when I teach it but I gotta get it. This is big in California, Chicago. Basically, it's a 100% abatement.

R

Robert Curvin 36:48

So, so the recipient pays nothing.


D

Dan O'Flaherty 36:51

On net.

R

Robert Curvin 36:52

 Robert Curvin 36:32
On net.

 Dan O'Flaherty 36:53

So okay, you you decide that you're going to build a lemonade stand in front of your house. And we decided that's really going to be wonderful, because Reynolds Place needs a lemonade stand. There's no lemonade stands at all on Reynolds place. There's no lemonade stands for blocks around. Now, normally, what you would do is that you would go to a bank and you would borrow money or sell bonds. And then you would pay the you would pay the bank back and he would also pay taxes on it. Now what happens instead is that the city sells the bonds and builds the lemonade stand in front of your house. And then you pay taxes on it in lieu of payment in lieu. But the money that you pay for taxes goes to pay off the bonds. So the city says I'm not we're not spending any money. But in fact, they're giving up all the taxes, it's the same-

 Robert Curvin 38:17

But isn't it also adding to the city's debt? In effect that- (?)

 Dan O'Flaherty 38:21

Yes, it's adding to the city's debt and in a lot and it's also in many ways in like the arena, subordinating the existing GO (?) debt. Now, on your house, if the city is in financial trouble, they can tax you unlimitedly. So if I'm a bond holder, when I bought these bonds, I say, Hey, these are great bonds because they're backed by Bob Curvin's house. But they're not backed by Bob Curvin's lemonade stand. Because your lemonade stand doesn't, you can't, you can't. If the city is in trouble, it can increase the taxes, of the house to pay the bond holder. But it can't increase the taxes on the lemonade stand.

 Robert Curvin 39:18

Because it's got a contract.

 Dan O'Flaherty 39:19

Because it's got a contract. So the money from the lemonade stand goes to the new bondholders not to the old bondholders and they've effectively subordinated the old bondholders

 Robert Curvin 39:31

But that doesn't necessarily mean the financial cost to the city is any greater than a straight out abatement?

D Dan O'Flaherty 39:39
Than a straight out 100% abatement. Because the city is on net collecting zero.

R Robert Curvin 39:44
Right. Right. So all it's doing is paying back the debt but not getting anything above that.

D Dan O'Flaherty 39:54
The bond holders which you would have-

R Robert Curvin 39:55
So this is now happening in Newark.

D Dan O'Flaherty 39:57
Close to it.

R Robert Curvin 39:58
Is this gonna happen on the arena on the hotel property?

D Dan O'Flaherty 40:02
I think it will happen everything around the arena.

R Robert Curvin 40:05
Everything around the arena. There's been a lot of written written up in about these. What is it called TIF arrangements? Tax incentive?

D Dan O'Flaherty 40:19
Tax increment funds. There's also, I think the arena, somebody that New Jersey passed a law recently called RABs which are similar, I think RAB, maybe the name for the TIF in this case.

R Robert Curvin 40:38

Who's the mastermind between these kinds of ideas and schemes in New Jersey or in Newark?
Where did it come from?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 40:49

Lawyers, lawyers. The the mastermind of the arena was Glenn Scotland, Glenn Scotland.

R

Robert Curvin 41:02

Yeah. And who is he never heard the name before.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 41:05

He's you watch, uh, McManimon & Scotland is a major bond firm. Municipal bond firm.

R

Robert Curvin 41:16

I see. Municipal bond firm.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 41:18

Glenn, Glenn was Glenn put it together. This is Glenn's idea.

R

Robert Curvin 41:23

Oh, really? So these guys go around looking for things that can be financed, because that's their business. r

D

Dan O'Flaherty 41:32

That's their business. And there's a lot of legislative connections and things like, it's there's a there there's part the bond, the municipal bond community in New Jersey, there are about five or six major law firms that are very, very well politically connected. And some of the, I think, some of the other law firms in your their real estate practices deal with these things.

R

Robert Curvin 42:09

So, so this guy, what's his name, Scotland, he goes to Chambers and says, you know, why don't you build an arena in Newark? For the Nets, which was the original idea, right? Something like that?



Dan O'Flaherty 42:26

Something like- it could have- no I think it clearly there was this bizarre desire for the Nets, independent of-



Robert Curvin 42:33

Right of the Izod.



Dan O'Flaherty 42:39

Then you go, it's good that it happens (?). So you go to McManimon & Scotland, and say, how can I do it? And then McManimon Scotland will say we'll do it this way, we'll do it that way, or let's get the legislature to do it that way. I mean, I, I wouldn't. I wouldn't, Glenn, I wouldn't say that Glenn was the initiator. But before 1986, Glenn was the one who knew how it worked. And and Glenn wrote, most of the doc- Glenn represented most sides in the negotiation. I think he represented the housing authority in its negotiation with the city and the city in this negotiation with the housing authority.



Robert Curvin 43:26

Now, is one of the reasons why the the Port Authority money was put passed to the housing authority was to avoid loading up on the city's debt.



Dan O'Flaherty 43:44

Among other reasons, prim- it was it was to avoid the entire if it came to the city here, which it should have.



Robert Curvin 43:55

Then the city's bondholders



43:57

Then the city's bondholders and it was to avoid the entire apparatus of municipal government, the entire financial apparatus of municipal government is set up with the idea of protecting bondholders. So it was to avoid local bond law, local fiscal affairs law and several other laws. So under local bond law, it would have run into trouble not a great deal of trouble with with the bonding limit. It would have also been available to other bondholders under the local fiscal affairs law, it would have to be included in the city budget.



R

Robert Curvin 44:42

and the state could be could intervene

D

Dan O'Flaherty 44:46

and the public could intervene. And it would have to be explicitly stated what was what was going on. And again, once it's in the budget, bondholders can get to it. If it was under local fiscal affairs law, there would have to be competitive competitive bidding and various other kinds of things. So by going to by going, there is this law that says how municipalities deal with their money, which is extensive and designed to protect taxpayers and designed to protect bondholders. You give the money to the housing authority, you avoid this entire game (thing?). That's why local fiscal affairs law says that every dime that comes to the city must go to the city treasury. And that that was our lawsuit against the the arena, which we lost.

R

Robert Curvin 45:50

When you when the lawsuit was filed the argument was that the public had a right to review a matter as

D

Dan O'Flaherty 45:59

It was it was that it violated local fiscal affairs law, I think, violated local budget law and violated local bond law, that this was city money. And because it was city money needed, it had to be governed, by the laws that the state of New Jersey has said the city government-

R

Robert Curvin 46:20

And the Court essentially ruled that-

D


Dan O'Flaherty 46:23

The court ruled that under the local redevelopment and Housing Act of 1991, another John Lynch creation, that the local redevelopment redevelopment is a reason that trumps all other laws of the state of New Jersey, really. And if I was a bondholder at that time, I would have sold.


R


Robert Curvin 46:46


Wow. That's that's quite a far reaching decision. I mean, that alone is like a revolutionary concept in city affairs. And that might be the most significant thing that's happened in this whole process. So tell tell me what your thoughts are about what's going on now in the city and with the-


 Dan O'Flaherty 47:27
Okay, it's a recession.

 Robert Curvin 47:29
It's there's a recession so you gotta allow for that.


 Dan O'Flaherty 47:32
Yeah in a recession, nothing good happens. (Unintelligible) Your, this election is boring.


 Robert Curvin 47:46
Boring. Yeah. Yeah. You know, Minor at all?


 Dan O'Flaherty 47:56
Yeah. Yeah. He's good guy.

 Robert Curvin 47:57
Good guy.

 Dan O'Flaherty 48:00
Nice guy.

 Robert Curvin 48:00
Yeah, but I find it hard to understand exactly why at this point in his life, he wants to be the mayor of Newark.

 Dan O'Flaherty 48:09
I think he does too

 Robert Curvin 48:10
Do you think he does?

D Dan O'Flaherty 48:11
No, I think he has a problem understanding that too.

R Robert Curvin 48:14
Oh, okay. Okay. Well, what is what is he? I mean, do you have any sense of what he represents in terms of the city's political landscape?

D Dan O'Flaherty 48:25
People who are unhappy with Cory.

R Robert Curvin 48:28
Just just just unhappy? Yeah, just the discontent

D Dan O'Flaherty 48:32
Mainly people who were associated with the old regime who had not been, had not been and then it that way, it sort of reminds me of 1966. With with Carlin running against Addonizio again.

R Robert Curvin 48:53
Right. Right. Yeah. So do you think he represents the Gibson forces or?

D Dan O'Flaherty 49:02
No, no, no, no, there aren't Gibson forces at this point. And Gibson Gibson, people were all over the map in in 2006. In, every every administration absorbs some of the people from the old administration. Sharpe wanted, Sharpe wanted me to stay. I didn't want to stay. Sharpe wa- Tom wanted to stay, he got moved around.

R Robert Curvin 49:33
That's yeah, that's the way it is.

D Dan O'Flaherty 49:35
That's the wav it is. Yeah. Zane(?) staved.

R

Robert Curvin 49:38

Let me ask you about this proposal to, in a way create a Water Authority for the reservoirs. Is that a bad idea on the face of it?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 49:55

Um, probably my view of the world is it probably makes very little difference. In the final analysis, I think the current structure, I don't see working that well, because it the five members of the board are appointed by the city council. Whenever you have the City Council and the number five, that means that each Ward Councilman appoints one. So that essentially you change the water department into five fiefdoms.

R

Robert Curvin 50:36

But it doesn't have funding(?) power, right?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 50:39

The Water Authority has

R

Robert Curvin 50:40

It does have funding power

D

Dan O'Flaherty 50:42

which which makes no difference,

R

Robert Curvin 50:43

it makes no difference, I see.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 50:45

The th- the current water sewer bonds don't count against the city debt limit, because they're not general obligation bonds, they're revenue bonds, which I mean, I would not want sewer bonds to be revenue bonds. But that's Sharpe's. I think you- you have a chance if the authority

you might have a chance to pay a very qualified person a higher salary, which might be necessary in this position. I think that's the strongest argument for it. Although I haven't seen anybody make it.

R

Robert Curvin 51:31

So that would mean stronger governance and administration or administration, management.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 51:38

Possibly. It either could be five, five fiefdoms and a political hacking charge. Or I don't know what water guys make. I've never been a water guy. What, I don't know what the structure of life as a water guy is like. It may be helpful in attracting a good water guy. I think, I don't think that is the I think there's a distraction from the major issues of water and sewer. The major issue of water I think, is how to get some valuable use out of the 48 square acres square miles

R

Robert Curvin 52:22

that the city owns

D

Dan O'Flaherty 52:25

You can sell that if Sharpe hadn't sold the development rights. You can sell it for enough money to finance the city for the rest-

R

Robert Curvin 52:35

Sharpe sold the development rights to that land. So the city in effect doesn't own it then?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 52:41

No, well, for development purposes. The city could develop it as my basic picture. Are you familiar with the the White Mountain Apaches? Various histories of American Indian groups before casinos became big, the White Mountain Apaches were the only successful tribe they were also the most nationalistic tribe. The Navajo say okay, Indian Affairs, the White Mountain Apache said Bureau of Indian Affairs go get lost. What they did was they took their land which is not that far from Phoenix. And they made it into an upscale ecological preserve with winter sports things and hunting and photography and they make a ton of money. And they are they one of the guys burnt down half of it a couple of years ago but before then they had a reputation as the best ecological maintenance people around. I just want the White Mountain Apaches to take that place over which since they're a tribe, they have incredible legal rights, they could probably do it. I guess there's a tremendous need for recreation places in New

Jersey that was brought home to me most (unintelligible). A couple of years ago, I decided I wanted to run from here to Lake Hopatcong. So I, Mary decided to meet me out there and it'll be fun. So, you know, I got lost a couple of times.

R

Robert Curvin 54:46

How many miles is it?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 54:48

I don't know I got lost. It was about six, seven hours. Six or something like that. Yeah. So Mary was going to meet me there. I get to it's a nice summer day, I get to Lake Hopatcong. I've never been there before, go to the entrance. And it's closed. It's closed, because it's full. And there are cars lined up for a mile back behind it. So I'm saying where's Mary? So I go up to the gate. I just ran up here. What can I do I talk to the guy in charge. "Oh, the white lady. The white lady. I told the white lady go back there."

R

Robert Curvin 55:34

Oh, really? These were Indians, Native Americans.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 55:38

No, these were Hispanics and Blacks.

R

Robert Curvin 55:40

Hispanics and blacks. Oh, really? Out in Lake Hopatcong?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 55:42

Yeah. Yeah. And got locked out.

R

Robert Curvin 55:47

Wow, waiting to get it.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 55:49

Waiting to get in.

R Robert Curvin 55:51
And you think they were intentionally locked out?

D Dan O'Flaherty 55:53
No. It was just full.

R Robert Curvin 55:55
Just full.

D Dan O'Flaherty 55:59
It's great, f you're in Paterson,

R Robert Curvin 56:01
I remember the days when those clubs were closed, by the way to-

D Dan O'Flaherty 56:05
This is, this is a state park. It's a state park. I said there aren't. There, there's really a need for recreational places.

R Robert Curvin 56:13
Yeah, we're lacking.

D Dan O'Flaherty 56:14
We're lacking. So the question and you can make money on maybe you make money on it. But how do you put that to use? So that's one important thing. The other important thing, I think, sewers I think are basically should be public rather than an authority because they should be financed by land taxes, and taxes on runoff. But I think that the overwhelming issue the city's going to have to face is what to do about global warming, with, especially with the Ironbound and the Passaic Valley and the airport. And that's basically a sewer issue.

R Robert Curvin 56:56
See, one of the difficulties of being in a poor city, I think, is that those kinds of more global technological technical issues get either left off the table, or not invited into any serious

technological technical issues get either left on the table, or not invited into any serious discussion.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 57:17

We're not we're talking about valuable places, we're talking about the port. We're talking about the airport. And (unintelligible) downtown, I think I mean, how downtown is 10 feet above sea level. The Ironbound is about 10 feet above sea level. Meeker parts of Weequahic, Weequahic Park is below sea level. Dayton Street's below sea level. So I mean, I, I, part of the problem with the Watershed that people don't talk about seriously(?), part of the problem with the watershed is it's too valuable. It's too valuable, in the sense that.

R

Robert Curvin 58:08

To sell?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 58:10

It's too because nobody trusts anybody.

R

Robert Curvin 58:12

Right. Well, that's, that's what I see. I think you're getting to the point, I feel that this is an argument that cannot be resolved because there's no trust,

D

Dan O'Flaherty 58:20

There's no trust. And let's we're not involved, a very similar situation is East Orange watershed. I did a back of the envelope calculation on the East Orange watershed. East Orange watershed, you sell it. East Orange (unintelligible) it's not like East Orange needs a ton of water. You sell the East Orange watershed. That's wonderful Short Hills land. You take the interest on it. East Orange does not have to raise the diamond taxes ever. That land is much more valuable than that land is more valuable than East Orange.

R

Robert Curvin 59:01

Let me change the, uh, we're on again. Okay.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 59:05

East Orange watershed is more valuable than East Orange.

R Robert Curvin 59:12
They have more acreage than Newark?

D Dan O'Flaherty 59:14
Now, East Orange watershed is more valuable. East Orange watershed is like 2000 acres. But Short Hills, Short Hills, Livingston, Florham Park well and East Orange can get all the water it wants from Newark. Newark has too much water. Newark was designed for a system, a city of 400,000 people that had lots of wet industries. And you've only got one serious plant now. So East Orange could get it's water a number of places but you nobody would do that.

R Robert Curvin 1:00:01
Yeah. They're just afraid. They're just afraid. So what's the development rights to the Newark watershed.

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:00:08
The state.

R Robert Curvin 1:00:09
The state? Oh I see.

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:00:10
What Sharpe did a couple of times the, in the early 2000s, the water budget had some gaps in it. And so to fill the gaps, he sold. He sold it like for 6 million here, 7 million here, I think, I think it collected a total of about 20 million for the development rights of a piece of land worth about 11 billion (million?).

R Robert Curvin 1:00:37
But the land is protected then? Because the state owns it.

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:00:41
Yeah. No the state state owns the development.

R Robert Curvin 1:00:43

I see, I see. So they could theoretically sell it. It hasn't been considered protected land there.

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:00:53

No, there's I think the other where, where, where the world I think is going on water is toward reuse,

R Robert Curvin 1:01:08

Reuse?

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:01:09

Yeah. First thing that was built in, in the 18th century, were reservoirs and water, which was untreated, the idea was you go to a place where the water is relatively clean, and you pipe it in. They built that, and then they realized they need to have sewers. And so they build sewers. Neither one treated, the idea is that the absorptive powers of bodies of water are great enough that they can take care of it. That didn't work out too well. Famous incident where Patterson gets to dump it in the Passaic river, two miles above where Newark takes out. So the the reaction starting around 1910 or 1920 is to require treatment at the back end, which took a long time to come through. But eventually has come through, most water is treated at the back end now. And at that 1920s, the debate was whether it would be cheaper to to treat at the back end or treated the front end, and then eventually got back end. Since the 1960s, there've been more arguments for treating at the front end. And so now most places treat at the front end also. So whereas the original system was treated at neither end, now it's treated at both ends. Why? Why treat here and treat here when you can just treat it one place?

R Robert Curvin 1:03:00

I see.

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:03:03

And you know, Singapore, is moving very strongly in the direction of Singapore is the leading water place in the world. Because they have to be they they're, they're reservoirs are in Malaysia and they don't trust that. Singapore is moving toward me you reuse of water pretty heavily now, primarily for the wafer plants, but they hope to do 30% of their water reuse within 10 or 15 years. Los Angeles does a lot of it. The larg- there are lot of developing places in in water scarce areas like Beijing, Cairo. New Delhi, Indian places get a lot of water, but they do it three days or something like that.

R Robert Curvin 1:03:59

So you'd think that we would be in the forefront of this given the water issues in the southwest?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 1:04:05

Yeah, I mean, there's some of that, but we're Los Angeles is moving in that direction. But I think that's probably the direction. The other thing would be, you know exactly what's needed. I mean, it really makes no sense to treat water. So it's absolutely clear and wonderful and safe and spend millions of dollars treating it so people can piss in it. And then dump it back in. Western western toilet systems are incredibly inefficient. They were designed to combat miasma, not not to combat germs, I say. And so I think I think the world is changing a lot on how it treats this this process, which is why putting a whole lot of bonding into an obsolete system that faces global warming is not really where we should be at this point.

R

Robert Curvin 1:05:18

So what do you think is going to happen when next year when the city hits this, this this crunch this financial crunch? Have you recommended any strategies for how they can get out of this?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 1:05:34

I've always been recommending land taxes and congestion pricing and selling. Selling (unintelligible) if you have licenses and things like that they're not close to those things. You could have instituted some some some serious additional taxes. I think there'll probably be an increase in property taxes. Newark property taxes are now relatively low. Possibly below this. Equalized rates don't mean anything. Because the market is so crazy and you have log lags and things like that, but equalized tax rates we're pretty low. We're not usually above. I think there'll probably be an increase in property taxes. There'll probably be some layoffs

R

Robert Curvin 1:06:26

In what in what order 10% 5%?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 1:06:32

10 15

R

Robert Curvin 1:06:33

10 15%

D

Dan O'Flaherty 1:06:36

20.

R Robert Curvin 1:06:37
20!

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:06:39
The city is incredibly leveraged. Property taxes are collect like 250 million on on, uh, expenditures of 800 900 million.

R Robert Curvin 1:06:54
Counting the school budget.

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:06:56
Counting the city portion of school budget.

R Robert Curvin 1:06:58
City portion, not the school budget. Not the school budget. School budgets another almost another billion, right?

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:07:03
Yeah, city portion now is like 110 100, something like that. And that that was the big reason why Sharpe could keep property taxes stable. Reasonably. They went but Sharpe, the the big gift to Sharpe was was that the school board stayed constant from 1990 to 2006. The school budget, the school the city contributions, the city contribution, stayed at 90 million for 16 year.

R Robert Curvin 1:07:36
For 16 years, I see and the state was increasing its share.

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:07:43
City spends the city spends like 3000 2000 per pupil. And the state is like 14, 15 per pupil. No wonder the city is willing to have families build houses.

R Robert Curvin 1:08:03
No wonder people are outraged outside of the city too. When you look at the distribution of

resources in the city budget, it's outrageous.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 1:08:17

So I think you'll see that sort of increase in taxes, some layoffs. You know Cory's been asking me I've been telling Cory this is going to come since 2002 and he's always asked me what to do and I say I don't know, um, that's there are they're drawing down a lot of the reserves, but they're probably some reserves around in various places. But most of them I think are probably drawn down by this time I was basically-

R

Robert Curvin 1:09:01

There's no rescue from the state coming this time.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 1:09:04

No. There might be a rescue from the Port Authority. Assets that can be sold the watershed, different ballgame and there's nothing going on there in long term, they coulda sold City Hall. I think it would be a very good idea to sell City Hall.

R

Robert Curvin 1:09:34

Sell the building. Who would want to buy City Hall?

D

Dan O'Flaherty 1:09:41

A hotel or something like that. As it's a wonderful beautiful building. I love it. It's absolutely-

R

Robert Curvin 1:09:52

Fabulous.

D

Dan O'Flaherty 1:09:53

Yeah, absolutely terrible office building.

R

Robert Curvin 1:09:55

Right. Right. It's just dysfunctional, at this point.

D

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:09:59
Totally. It was designed (unintelligable), you know

R Robert Curvin 1:10:04
I always had a dream that Ken would build a new city hall.

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:10:08
I think Cory should build a new city hall, I think. But the current City Hall we love it and everything like that, but that doesn't mean that you should keep it. I'm very fond of Jockey Hollow.

R Robert Curvin 1:10:22
Of what?


D Dan O'Flaherty 1:10:22
Jockey Hollow. You must be too. No?


R Robert Curvin 1:10:27
I'm not understanding what you're saying. No.


D Dan O'Flaherty 1:10:27
No? Okay. Jockey hollow where the Continental Army spent the-


R Robert Curvin 1:10:34
Oh, okay. Okay!


D Dan O'Flaherty 1:10:36
It's near and dear to my heart. It should be preserved we- When I have visitors, I sometimes go up there and look at all the huts and things like that. It's a wonderful place. I'm sure you have nothing against jockey hollow. And if somebody said wh-, should it be a national park? You would say yes. I would not say that the Defense Department should operate out of Jockey Hollow.


 Robert Curvin 1:11:03
Right. Exactly. And City Hall is Jockey Hollow.


 1:11:08
City Hollow is Jockey Hollow. Other assets to sell. Symphony Hall, it's not a time to sell things. Symphony Hall and City Hall are probably the things to sell.


 Robert Curvin 1:11:25
Yeah. That would be politically, the most explosive defensive thing that if you want to see Cory get in trouble with the Black community, that's all you need to do is say we, we may want to sell Symphony Hall, which is sad in a way because Symphony Hall has become more of a symbol than a functional, useful place. There's a lot of energy and resources being invested in something that's not, it's had its day.

 Dan O'Flaherty 1:12:01
You you m- data, and I think some of the investment in these particular old buildings is a sign of the weakness of Newark. And the lack of trust, okay. Let's build something nice. So in the watershed, let's get something nice. No if you touch it, you are going to beat us up.

 Robert Curvin 1:12:27
Yeah. Right. Exactly.

 Dan O'Flaherty 1:12:29
Therefore do not touch it. Yeah. It's like, you've got to you've got a kitchen that's falling apart. And you've got enough money to fix it. But you just don't trust anybody to come in and do it. So you just suffer. But you could probably sell 828 (?) Broad St but

 Robert Curvin 1:13:05
that'd be tough

 Dan O'Flaherty 1:13:07
it's not worth much, much. These are one these are a couple million things um, and you're going to need 50 Gonna need continuing stuff to-

R Robert Curvin 1:13:17
Yeah. So you think the election is boring so far? You don't think it's gonna get any more interesting?

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:13:25
It could it

R Robert Curvin 1:13:25
It could

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:13:26
I mean 66 was a boring election till Ken Gibson got into it

R Robert Curvin 1:13:30
I'm, I'm predicting about 60, 40.

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:13:34
I think so.

R Robert Curvin 1:13:35
And uh and Cory will basically use this to show his stuff nationally. When I saw him yesterday in the coffee shop, he was being trailed by photographers and and we embraced at he counter and so on. Then after he left the one of the photographers, a woman came over and asked me to sign a release. So that, they said they were working on the campaign and they needed a release to use this picture of us and I refused this. I said, I can't do that because I'm really an impartial observer of the city. But he's on the case. He's definitely on the case. And he is a master at managing communications.

D Dan O'Flaherty 1:14:28
It's gonna be a difficult communication for him to manage. Because Minor is such a weak candidate. And he's got such a big campaign and things like that. He's got to say it's gonna be 55, 45. He's got to get people believing it's 55, 45



Robert Curvin 1:14:52

In order to make it make people even willing to come out.



Dan O'Flaherty 1:14:56

And it's hard to make it people believe it's 55, 45



Robert Curvin 1:15:01

That's right exactly Dan thank you so much for this this is really, now are you gonna let me take you to lu-